

whether this proceeds from stupidity or a disinclination to impart any information respecting their faith and practices, I know not. I must not however omit to mention a trifling exception to this rule in one of the sect at *Bhooj*, GORJÍ PUNJÁJÍ, who to some trifling acquirements of Sanskrit, adds a knowledge of the poetry peculiar to this province, as well as that of *Marwar*, of which latter he is a native; his books are all written in what is styled the *Gwalior bhákhá\**; he is also sufficiently acquainted with astrology and astronomy, to cast nativities, and foretell fates: this latter accomplishment is quite sufficient to secure him great influence with the people of *Bhooj*, whose superstition, even for natives, exceeds all bounds. Although the three towns, before mentioned, are furnished with their proportion of *Thánas*, (sthánas) or places of Jain worship, the structure at *Badránagri* is the only one in the province with which I am acquainted deserving the title of a temple; it is, according to all accounts, as ancient as the oldest of those at mount *A' bú*, and although not erected of such costly materials is a beautiful specimen of its style of architecture, denoting either greater prosperity at *Badránagri* than is known in the trading towns at present, or a greater degree of zeal in the Jain sectarians of its period.

NOTE.—PUNJÁJÍ, in accordance with a system which attains in *Cutch*, of giving lands and villages, in *enám*, to fakirs, peers, and jogies, has a village in his possession. The religious establishments of the *Khanphaties* and *Kaprias* alone, possess between them not less than thirty villages. True, they apply the revenue thus derived to charitable purposes, but numerous are the instances in which it is otherwise appropriated, and the revenue consequently suffers to support the least useful, if not the most worthless, members of a community.

*Anjar, 20th August, 1837.*

VIII.—*Examination of the separate edicts of the Aswastama inscription at Dhaulí in Cuttack. (Plate X.)* By JAMES PRINSEP, Sec. &c.

I now return from *Girnár* to the spot on the opposite side of the peninsula connected with it in so curious a manner, to render an account of the two edicts, which I postponed on my notice of the double version in March, as being of a local nature. My readers will however, in the first instance, wish to know more of the locality, and of the circumstance of the discovery of these *Dhauí* inscriptions, which, though situated, as it appears, close to the highroad at *Bhuaneswar*, had entirely

\* *Mágadhí Bhása*.—W. H. W.





escaped notice until the assiduous inquiries of Lieut. KITTOE brought them to light, and once more realized the moral adage of 'eyes and no eyes.'—The more credit is due to him, that Colonel MACKENZIE with his myrmidons had been at *Bhuvaneswar* and had ransacked the country round about:—General STUART and other of the minor class of antiquaries had been there too, and had in their usual fashion stripped and carried off all the images and fragments of old stones they could lay hands on: which would have been enough to explain the shyness of the priests in the neighbourhood at pointing out other remains, but that for those of Buddhism they would have had no repugnance at giving information, and would doubtless have been glad to turn the attention of the invader upon them to save the spoliation of their own temples.

Mr. KITTOE's recent expedition in search of coal gave him an opportunity of revisiting *Dhauri* and of taking sketches of the various caves in the neighbourhood which he had no time on his former visits, to do more than inspect. I here insert an extract from his Journal on the subject, and make public acknowledgment to him for the numerous lithographs in illustration of it, all of which, drawn by himself, are faithful, and not exaggerated, representations of the venerable and deserted grottos of the Buddhist priesthood.

*Note by Mr. KITTOE on the Aswastama inscription at Dhauri near Bhuvaneswar in Orissá, &c.*

"The province of *Orissá* boasts of more ancient temples, sacred spots and relics than any other in Hindustan, and though many of its more noted antiquities are well known to us, yet, there is reason to believe that some, (perhaps even more worthy of notice,) remain hidden. That which forms the subject of this paper, I had the good fortune to discover by the merest accident: a byragí priest, native of *Mirzapoor* near *Benares* having described it to me; such, however, is the aversion the *Oorayahs* have, to our going near their places of worship, that I was actually decoyed away from the spot, when within a few yards of it, being assured that there was no such place, and had returned for a mile or more, when I met with a man who led me back to the spot by torch-light. I set fire to the jangal and perceived the inscription which was completely hidden by it. I subsequently returned and copied it.

"The *Aswastama* is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the *Dyah* river, near to the village of *Dhauri*, and close to the northwest corner of the famous tank called *Konsala-gang*, said to have been excavated by rája GANGESWARA DEVA, king of *Kalinga* in the 12th century in expia-

tion of a grievous sin—I will here digress a little and relate the story told by the people of *Orissá*.

“Maha rája adhi rája GANGESWARA DEVA, having become enamoured of his daughter (by name) KOSALA, sought to cast off the odium of incest he had committed, by the following stratagem.

“Having assembled the priests and other learned men of his court, he questioned them as to whether it was lawful for a man to enjoy the fruit of his own sowing? Unaware of the real purport of the question, an affirmative answer, such as the rája wished, to suit his conscience, was given. After a time the princess being delivered of a son, the rája was taken to task for his infamy, but he, on the other hand, threw the blame upon those whose counsel he had sought, reminding them of their answer to the question by which he had deceived them.

“The brahmins, in atonement for the sin they had apparently been the cause of, ordained that a golden vase with a small perforation at the bottom should be placed, (filled with water) on the head of the offspring who was to be led by his mother round a space of ground as much as they could travel over until the whole of the water should be expended, and that a tank should afterwards be excavated comprising such space; this mandate was obeyed and the tank (when finished) called “*Kosala Gang*” after the rája GANGESWARA and his daughter KOSALA.

“Rája GANGESWARA DEVA is said to have reigned in the 12th century of the Christian era\*.

“I must now describe the *Aswastama*. The hills before alluded to, rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.

“The northernmost hill may be about 250 feet at its highest or eastern end, on which is a ruined temple dedicated to MAHÁDEVA: the other hills or rather rocks are less elevated.

“Beneath the temple on the eastern and southern declivities are several small caves (C C) and the remains of many more; also two natural caverns or clefts in the rock, one being choked up with rubbish the other (D) clear for eighty or a hundred feet, beyond which it is impossible to penetrate, the passage becoming very narrow and the stench of the myriads of bats (inhabiting it) quite suffocating†. At the mouth of

\* Vide STIRLING's *Orissá* and PRINSEP's *Useful Tables*.

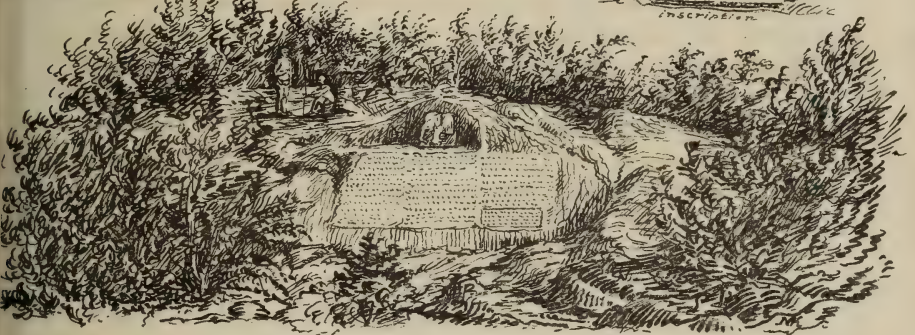
† I found two species of bat new to me, the one of a bright orange color, the other black with a very long tail, like a mouse but much thinner.



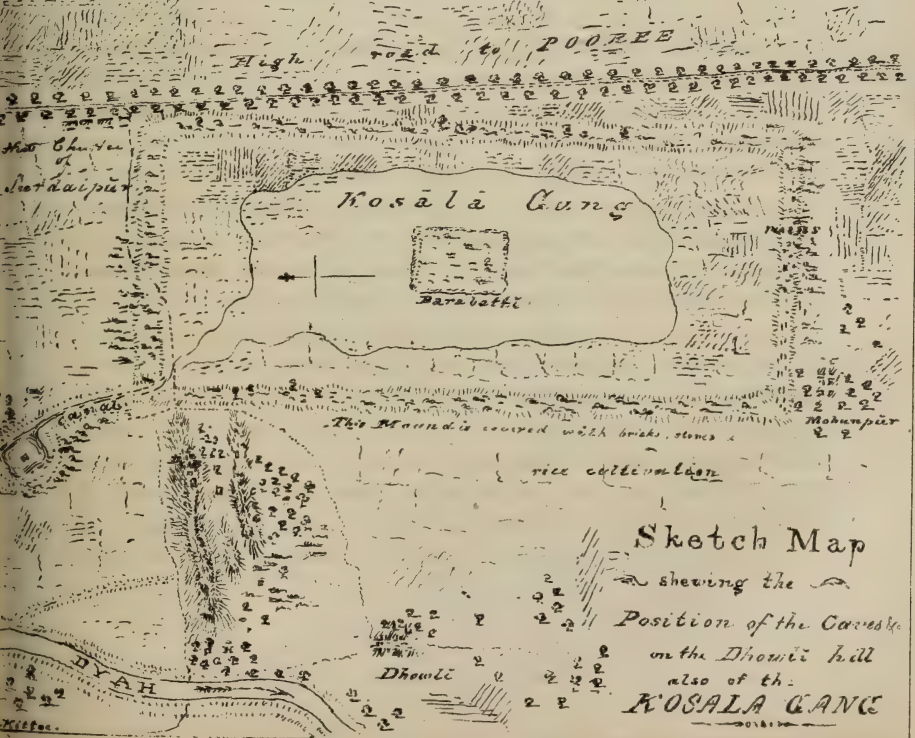
Distant view of Dhowla hill from the north



- A Aswastama
- B Foundations of old Buildings
- CC broken caves



THE ASWASTAMA



Sketch Map  
 showing the  
 Position of the Carvings  
 on the Dhowla hill  
 also of the  
**KOSALA GANGA**



this cavern is an inscription (Fig. 2,) slightly scratched on a detached block of stone. The inscription (Fig. 1,) is roughly cut in a small cave (B) on the southern face.

“ There are traces of other buildings having formerly existed on this and the adjoining hills, also in the cavities between them (M F) there is a fine temple dedicated to GANESHA and MAHADEVA at the western cave of the hill, also ruins of several others. (G H.)

“ Stone has been extensively quarried here for the different temples in the vicinity, and (I should venture to add) for *Kanārak*\*. The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon being divided into four tablets, the first of which appears to have been executed at a different period from the rest; the letters are much larger and not so well cut. The fourth tablet is encircled by a deep line, and is cut with more care than either of the others.

“ Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen (A) on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock. There is a groove four inches wide by two in depth round three sides of the terrace, with a space of three feet left (a doorway?) immediately in front of the elephant; there are also two grooves, one on either side of the elephant on the floor and in the perpendicular face; these must have been intended probably to fix a wooden canopy.

“ There are also many broken caves in the rocks adjoining the *Aswastama*, and the foundations of many buildings; one in particular immediately above the inscription which may have been one of the chatyas or stupas mentioned in the inscription.

The elephant does not seem to be an object of worship, though I was informed that one day in every year is appointed, when the brahmins of the temples in the vicinity attend, and throw water on it, and besmear it with red lead in honor of GANESHA.

“ There are five caves in a row on the high rock south of the elephant (C C C) called by some “*Panch-pandav*” and by others “*Panch-gosain* :” beside these caves (where there are traces of many others) there are numerous small holes like mortars, cut in the rock; these were probably used to compound the drugs and medicines by the medical devotees mentioned in the inscriptions. Like cavities occur at the caves of *Khandgiri*; some larger than the rest have been used as reservoirs.

\* The black pagoda.







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*Last separate tablet at Dhauli.*

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*First separate Tablet at Dhauli.*

Devánampiyasa vachanena Tosaliyam mahámáta nagala vihálaka vataviyam. Am kichhi (*dekhám*) i hannam, tam ichhámi kálinam: enam pativedaye ham: duválatecha álabhe ham, esa cha me mokhyamate duvále: *etasi athasi* am tuphe *hi* anusathi tuphe *hi*; bahúsu pánasahasesu áyata jana me gachha cha sumunisánam. Save *sumunise paja mamáti*: atha pajáye ichhámi hakam; *savena hitasukhena hida lokika páralokikéya yujevúti*: he me ... hasa supa? ichhámi duka no cha pápunítha áva - - - - a - nedhava? eka pulise manáti; etam sepi desam no sava dekhatelhi tuphe éte; savi hitápiniti—yam eka pulise ... bandhanam vá palikilesam vá papunnáti, tota hota akasmá tena bandhaná táka; ane cha ... *ba* hu janodasiye dukhíyati: tata ichhitaviye tuphe *hi*; níti majham paṭipádayemáti. Imehi cha vagahi no paṭipajati; —isáya, savolopena, niṭhuliyena, túlanáya, anávútiyá, álasiyena, kálamathena,—se ichhitaviye kiti ete bahu ... *vevu mamáti*: *ete su* cha savesu múlá anusulope atulaná cha, nitichham ekilante siyá! *ete* ugaṭi samchalita vadhentu, va hitapiye etaviye, vá hevam meva eda ...tuphákatena vataviye; anam na dakhita, hevancha hevam ata devánampiyasa anusa thi, se mahá ..... tasa sampatipáda *yeham*: mahe asáye asampatipaticha *sampatipádayámi*, nahi etanananthi sagasa áládhino láljaladha duáhalehi: isánam *meva* mannata manam; atilekesa paṭipajamáne cha, tam santam áládhayisatháti ..... tam apananiyam ehatha!

Iyam cha lipi tisa nakhatena (*sota*) viyá antamási cha *ti s e na* na khat *ená* pi ekenápi sotaviyá: hevam cha kálanta tuphe, sanghatha *sampatipádayitave*: etáya atháyá iyam lipi likhitá hida *ena nagala viyopálaká* sasatam samayam yujavú: *nagala janasa* akasmá pali bodha va akasmá pali ..... *ká ma* deva no si *váya yáti*.

Etáye cha atháye hakam *dhamma* mate panchasu vasesu nikhamayisami: e akha khase a ..... se khi nálabhe hisati: etamaṭhan janita ..... thá kalati atha mama anusathíti. Ujenyá sepicha kumále etáyevam aṭhaye nikhamayisati hidisammeva vatam, no cha atikamayisati tinivasáni he me vatam; khasalate pi adá a ... te mahámátá nikhamisanti anusayánam, tadá ahápayita atanekamma etapi jana satam tampi *tam* kho kalanti athá lájine anusathî.

*Last separate Tablet at Dhauli.*

Devánampiyasa vachanena Tosaliyam kumále mahámátá cha vataviya! an kichhi dakhámi ha (*nam tam ichhámi kálinam, enam pativedayeham*) duválatacha álabheham; esa cha me mokhyamata duvála. Etasi athasi an tuphe (*hi anusathi tuphe hi*; bahúsu pánasahasesu áyata jana me gachha cha sumunisánam! *save sumunise paja mama*) atha pajáya icchámi hakam iti, *savena hita sukhena hidalokika páralokikaye yujevúti* he m .....

...siyá: antánam aviditánam káchha vasulá .. (6) .. mama ichhámi antasu .... i pánevute; iti. Devánampiye ..... mataramaviye ... have vuti. Asvasevu cha sukhaveva lahevu mama anodukhahevam (sa) va nikhamáchine: Devánampiya ahá: kiti echa kiye: khamitave mama nimitam cha dhammam cha hevú, hidaloka palalokam cha áládhavevu. Etasi athasi hakam anusásámi tuphe anu (*sathike*) etakena hakam anusasita cha (*hi*) dancha vedita áhayámi; paññácha mama ajalásá: hevam kaṭukam me chalitaviyam ! asve ..... chi táni ena papune vu iti.

Athá piye tathá devánampiye aḍhaka: athá cha atá hevam devánampiye (*ná*) nusampati aḍhaka: athá cha paḇa hevam *máne* devánampi-yasa; se hakam anusásite va devánampiyaka dáse vutike hosámi. Etáye atháye *Dubaláhi* tuphe cha swasanáye hitasukhaye cha (*e*) sa hidalokika páralokikáye: hevancha *Kalantam* tuphe swagam áládhayitave, *tate* mama cha ananichham eatha! Etáye atháye iyam lipi likhitá: hida ena mahámátáswasatam (*ná*) ma yajisati. A'sásanáye dhamma chalanáye cha tastú atanam: iyamcha lipi anabhátun másam tisenana khatena sotaviyá. Kámamcha khaṇṇakhanasi antalápi tisenana ekena sotaviyá; hevam kalanti tuphe, sanghatha sampatipádayitave.

*Translation of the first separate Tablet at Dhauḷi.*

By command of DEVÁNAMPIYA (the beloved of the gods)! In (the city of) *Tosalí*, the public officers in charge of the town are to be enjoined (as follows):—

“Whomsoever I ascertain to be a murderer, him do I desire to be imprisoned. This I publicly proclaim, and I will carry it into effect however difficult: for this my supreme will is irresistible!—On this account the present tope (stupa) (is denominated) the tope of commandment.

“From amongst many thousand souls, oh ye my chosen people! repair ye (hither) to the holy men. Every righteous man is my (true)

*Notes to the first tablet.*

*Tosaliyam*, equivalent to the Sanskrit loc. *तोषली* from *तोषली*. *Nagala vihálaka vataviya*, *वक्तव्यं*, it shall be said to the inhabitants, &c. There should be a long *a* to the two last words, *viháraká vataviyá*, perhaps omitted in copying.

*An kachhi de* .... this mutilated sentence is filled up the duplicate in the next edict.

*Kálinam*, a prisoner from *kárá*. (quere *káritam*).

*Duválate cha álabheham*, see the observations—it is rendered here by the Sanskrit *दुर्वारतश्चारमेहं* ‘and in spite of difficulties (irresistibilities) I execute!’ which last word like the Sanskrit has the double sense of doing and killing.

*Mokhyamate*, in Sanskrit *एष च मे मोक्षमतेः दुवरः* ‘and this my primary will is irresistible!’—This will correct an interpretation of the same word in the pillar

subject, and for my subjects I desire this only, that they may be possessed of every benefit and happiness as to things of this world and of the world beyond!..... and furthermore I desire ye do not purify the wicked until.....

“ In this country and not any where else is to be seen such a stupa (?) in which is provided proper rules of moral conduct. When one man relieves (his fellow-creature) from the bondage and misery (of sin), it necessarily follows that he himself is released from bondage; but again despairing at the number of human beings in the same state (whom he is unable to relieve) he is much troubled. Thence is this *stupa* so desirable (as an asylum?); that in the midst of virtuous regulations we may pursue our obedient course!

And through these classes (of deeds) are people rendered disobedient

edict No. 4 (page 597, vol. VI.) *echa iyam atanā pachupagamane se me mokhyamate—* in Sanskrit यच्च इयं आत्मनःपश्चादुपगमनः सः मे मौख्यमतः ‘and whoso from his soul is a follower after this edict, he is by me (esteemed) the most desirable.’

*Am* for *yat* or *yām* (see remarks on *Dhaulī* dialect page 277); *e* for *ye*, *ena* for *gena* are also frequent. In this place *am* seems put for *ayam*?

*Tuphe*, Sanskrit, स्तूपः Pāli, *thupo*; Anglice, ‘a tope,’ mound or Buddhist shrine.

*A’yata jana*, either—आयत् ‘coming’ contrasted with, *gachha cha* and going, गच्छत् or आयतजनः the elect. See *janasi āyatā*, vol. vi. p. 585. There is a tempting analogy between *gachha*, tree, in this passage and *aswatha* in the *Delhi* pillar, but it may be illusory.

*Athapajāye*, more distinct in the next tablet—the lithograph here has *aḥa*, but on re-examination Mr. KITTOE found it indistinctly H O, perhaps *athi*, is.

*Yujevuti*, युज्ज for युक्ता भवति?—or योजेयुः may unite; see tablet 2.

*Duka no cha pāpunitha āva*;—दुःखं (for दुष्करिणं) नच प्रपूनीत यावत् ..... the sense is here cut off by an erasure, nor is it at all satisfactory.

*Etam sepi desam no sava dekhatehi tuphe ese*. This difficult passage I have rendered at a hazard by एतं देशं नापिसर्वं सहि स्तूपः दृश्यते—*no sava dakhine hi* ‘not even in the south’ is there such a tope,—would be better.

*Etamsi vihītāpi niti*—एतस्मिन् विहितापिनति: ‘in this (tope) is appointed a system of conduct.’

*Yam ekapulise* .... this mutilated passage I dubiously fill up thus:—यदेक पुरुषः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्रापूनाति ततोभवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनात्त्यक्तं अन्यस्य बद्धजनोदास्यो दुःखीयति The pandit would render *prāpūnāti* by *prāpnoti*.

*Niti majham*; the first letter doubtful, may be *kirtti madhyam*, or *kriti madhyam*, ‘in the midst of the wise,’ or it may be given as a name to a particular stupa.

*Imehi cha vagehi*, Sans. एभिर्व्यगैः by these species (of offence).

*Isāya*, ईर्षया by envy—or it may be ईशाय ‘to god’ in connection with the next word, for in the pillar edict (vol. vi. page 584), envy is written *isyā*: ई.

*Asulopena*, असुलोपेन, by cutting off, or sacrificing life.

—viz. by enviousness, by the practice of destroying life, by tyranny, by cruelty, by idleness, by laziness, by waste of time. That morality is to be desired which is based on my ordinances (?), and in all these the roots (or leading principles) are,—the non-destruction of life, and the non-infliction of cruelty. May the desire of such moral guidance endure unto the end of time! and may these (principles) continuing to rise (in estimation) ever flourish, and inasmuch as this benefit and love should be ever had in remembrance, my desire is that in this very manner, these (ordinances) shall be pronounced aloud by the person appointed to the stupa; and adverting to nothing else but precisely according to the commandment of DEVĀNĀMPIYA, let him (further) declare and explain them.

“ Much longing after the things of (this life) is a disobedience, I again declare: not less so is the laborious ambition of dominion by a prince, (who would be) a propitiator of heaven. Confess and believe in God who is the worthy object of obedience!—for equal to this (belief), I declare unto you, ye shall not find such a means of propitiating heaven. Oh strive ye to obtain this inestimable treasure!

*Nijhuliyena*, नैसुख्येण by harsh severity.

*Tūlandya*, either तूरण्या, by cruelty, or तूलनया, by expulsion.

*Anāvutiya*, अनावृत्या, by non-employment.

*A'lasiyena*, आलस्येन, by idleness.

*Kālamathena*, कालमन्थेन, by churning time, (or wasting it:) a common expression in Sanskrit कथं कालमग्रासि ‘why do you churn time, in idleness?’

*Se ichhitaviye kiti ete* (read *ese*) perhaps सः इच्छितव्यः or (एष्टव्यः) ‘this is such a wise man as is to be desired:—कीर्ति’ and नीति are feminine, and are so used on the pillars, *esā kiti*, &c. (p. 588.) But false concords are but too common throughout.

*Ugaṣa sanchalita vadhetu*, उद्गत संचलित वद्दयंतु.

*Hita piye etaviye (?)* हितप्रिय एतव्यः profit and love are proper to be sought.

*Tuphākatena vataviye*:—स्तूपाकृतेन—by the person appointed to the shrine; according to the pandit, but rather far-fetched.

*Mahe asāye asampatipati*—सहाशयः great possessions—or avariciousness.

*Nāhi etannanāthi*, नहि एतदन्यदस्ति, there is not verily such another.

*Sagasa ālādhiṇo lājāladha duāhalehi*—स्वर्गस्य आराधिनेो राज्यलब्धुराहरोहि, ‘so the difficult obtaining of dominion, is (an unworthy act) of one propitiating heaven.’

*Isānameva manyata mānam*; ईशानमेव मन्यत मानं worship ye the lord who is alone worthy of worship.

*Atileke sampatipajamānecha ye, tam santam ālādhyasatha*: this requires but little alteration अतिरेकः संप्रतिपद्यमानस्य यः तंसंतं आराधयिष्यथ, who is most worthy of obedience, him the eternal ye shall propitiate by prayer.

*Tamcha apananiyam eatha*, तंच अपननीयं एहत as translated.

“ And this edict is to be read at (the time of) the lunar mansion Tisa, at the end of the month of *Bhátun*: it is to be made heard (even if) by a single (listener). And thus (has been founded) the *Kálanta stupa* for the spiritual instruction of the congregation. For this reason is this edict here inscribed, whereby the inhabitants of the town may be guided in their devotions for ages to come—and as of the people insensibly the divine knowledge and insensibly the (good works) increase, so the god of passion no longer yieldeth them gratification. (?)

“ For this reason also I shall cause to be, every five years, a general *nikhama*, (or act of humiliation ?) (on which occasions) the slaughter (of no animal of any kind ?) shall take place. Having learnt this object, it shall be so carried into effect according to my commandment.

“ And the young prince of *Ujein*, for the same purpose shall cause a religious observance of the self-same custom: and he shall not allow any transgression of this custom for the space of three years—so that when ..... functionaries have admitted to initiation the penitent, then should any not leave off his (evil) practices—if even there be hundreds (in the same predicament) it shall be certainly done unto him according to the commandment of the *rāja*.

*Tisa nakhatena*, तिष्य नक्षत्रेण. See observations on this lunar mansion (*Pushya*) in the notes to the pillar edict, vol. vi. p. 575.

*Antamási cha*—in the last month of the year, *Chaitra* or *Phalguna*.

*Kálantam tuphe*, either the name of the tope, or *kálantam* unto the end of time, which translation I have given in the other edict.

*Hidaena*, हृदयेन here; by which, or हृदयेन ‘with the heart.’

— *gala vitopá... laka*; I fill up *nagaraviyopáraká*, the merchants of the town; perhaps *viháraka*, the inhabitants as above.

*Sasatam samayam*, शाश्वतं समयं—for a very long period.

*Ka... deva no si... yáti*—filled up with hesitation, *káma deva no siváya yáti*, ‘the god of love does not go for pleasure.’

*Nikhamayisámi*,—निक्षमयिष्यामि, I will cause क्षमा *kshama*, pardon, devotion, a general forgiveness?—see page 242, and observations below.

*Ujjenyá se picha kumále*, उज्जयिन्यः सापिच कुमारः

*Hedisam meva vatam*, ईदृशं मैव व्रतं similar conduct as enjoined by me.

*Atikamayisati*, अतिक्रमयिष्यति shall not allow deviation or transgression.

*Tini vasáni he me vatam*—for three years, my established custom.

*Khasalatehi*,—probably खषरतः ‘intent upon killing,’ or still using meat food in sacrifice, — or a man of low caste: the word is doubtful.

*Adá-tadá*, अदा तदा when, then.

*Nikhamisanti anusayánam*, ‘shall absolve (him) as penitent.’ See above.

*Ahápáyitá atane kamma*, not leaving off his own (evil) deeds.

*Etam pi jana satam, tam tathá kalantu*, ‘to this man, or a hundred such let them do’—or *etam janam satatam*, ‘to such a man invariably.’

*Rájine anusathá*, राज्ञः अनुशास्त्रि, the *a* is re-placed by a small dash on the stone.



*Translation of the last separate edict at Dhauli.*

By command of DEVÁNAMPIYA ! It shall be signified to the prince and the great officers in the city of *Tosale*.

Whomsoever I ascertain to be .....  
and this my supreme will is irresistible ! On this account is the present *stupa* .....  
and for my loving subjects do I ardently desire to this effect :—that they may be filled with every species of blessing and happiness both as to the things of this world and the world beyond !  
..... may be. Of countless things as yet unknown  
..... I ardently desire ..... they may partake ! Thus hath said DEVÁNAMPIYA ..... may repose, ... and take pleasure, while the removal of affliction is in like manner the chief consequence of true devotion. (?) DEVÁNAMPIYA hath also said ;—“ fame (consisteth in) this act, to meditate with devotion on my motives, and on my deeds (of virtue) : and to pray for blessings in this world and the world to come. For this purpose do I appoint another (?) *stupa*—by the which I cause to be respected that which is (above) directed and proclaimed. And my promise is im-

*Notes to the second Tablet.*

*Kumále, कुमारः*—with this exception the opening passage seems to correspond word for word with that of the first tablet. I have filled in the erasures in italics in the romanized version, but the translation gives only the portions that are preserved.

*Kichhi dakhámi*—the omission of the *e* favors the reading किञ्चिदाख्यामि. (See observations.)

*Yujevúti*, from यज unite, Sans. योग्य or युक्ताभव ‘be thou united with’? *yute* is also used in other places. The verb *vá* and *vúti* (quasi *vu-iti*) so frequently occurring in the pillar and *Dhauri* texts seem rather to represent the imperative *bhava* (Páli, *ho*) than *bhavel* or *bhavatu*; or it may be the termination of the 3rd person plural of the potential mood एयुः *eyu* :—योजेयुः may unite, or यजेयुः may worship; *yajeyum* in Páli.

*Antánam avidítánam*, the pandit would read *atánam* or *anantánam*, but the passage is too mutilated to be completed.

*Asváse vu*—आश्वासेयुः may breathe freely, enjoy the repose of a hermit’s life?

*Súkhamava lahevú*—सुखमेव लभेयुः may take pleasure thus.

*Nikhamaçhane*, निःचमाचनः replete with *kshama*, devotion. *Khamítave*, or *khamítun*, to devoutly uphold, see observations.

*A’hayámi*, either *ahbayámi* आह्वयामि, I call, proclaim, or अर्हयामि I cause to be respected.

*Patíñá ajalasá*, प्रतिज्ञा अजरसा promise—undecaying. This is a solitary instance of the letter ङ being used. .

*Kaṣukam*, कटुकं, bitter, disagreeable. See *Gírnár* edicts.

*Papáne*, प्रपुण्यं? exceeding virtuous.

perishable! However bitter (or hard) it shall be carried into effect by me, and consolation (will accrue to him who obeys?)—by which is exceeding virtue—so be it.

Like as love itself, so is DEVÁNAMPIYA worthy of respect! and as the soul itself so is the unrelaxing guidance of DEVÁNAMPIYA worthy of respect! and according (to the conduct of) the subject, so is the compassion of DEVÁNAMPIYA: wherefore I myself, to accomplish his commands, will become the slave and hireling of DEVÁNAMPIYA. For this reason the *Dubalibi tupha* (is instituted) for undisturbed meditation, and for (securing every) blessing and happiness as to the concerns of this world and the world beyond! And thus to the end of time (is this) *tupha* for the propitiation of heaven.

Accordingly strive ye to accomplish each and all of my desires! For this object is this edict here inscribed, whereby (the spot) shall be caused by me to receive the name of *mahámátúswasatam*, or (place of meditation of the officers); let it so remain for a perpetual endowment by me, and for the furtherance of religion.

And this edict shall be read aloud in the course of the month of *Bhátun* (Bhadún?) (when the moon is) in the *nakhatra* (or lunar mansion) of *Tisa*:—and, as most desirable, also it shall be repeatedly

*Athá—tathá*, यथा तथा only distinguishable from अर्थे and अथ by the final *á*.

*Adhaka*—if for अर्हक 'worthy of respect:—if the *á* be read *i*, then it may be *adhika*, 'exceeding'—yea more. *Atha paja hevam maye*—a doubtful reading—*máne* is preferable, or *hevam-aye*—as adopted in the translation. The word looks more like *meve* in the original.

*Dáse vutike hosámi*, दासवृत्तिको भविष्यामि.

*Dubaláhi*, from दुर्बल feeble, weak—hodie *dúbla*.

*Kálantam*, perhaps कालान्तं—to the end of time. See the first tablet.

*A'nanichham eatha*, अन्यमिदं (or नित्यं continually) एहत from ईह endeavour, written *esatha*, in the first tablet, from इष desire—एच्छत desire ye.?

*Hida ena* either इह येन or हृदयेन, see the other tablet.

*Swasatam (náma) yajisati* सितं नामयोजयिष्यति—the letter *ná* has been inserted conjecturally as not affecting the sense—the same verb is found in the analogous passage in the twentieth line of the first tablet—*Sásatam samayam yajevú* (ti.)

*Tastu atonam*—perhaps *eta* (for *etat*) or *tad astu atánam* for *utmanám*—as translated.

*Anabhátun másam*—this I can only understand as *anubhádun másam*, in the course of the month of *Bhádun*—Sans. *Bhádra*.

*Tisena nakhatena*,—see the parallel passage in the other edict, which the better preservation of this enables us to complete.

*Khanakhanasi*—Sans. क्षण क्षण repeatedly or at stated intervals, derived from the winking of the eyes.

read aloud in the last month of the year, in the lunar mansion *Tisa*, even if one person be present; thus to the end of time to afford instruction to the congregation, of the *tupha*.

*Antalápi tisena*—अन्तरापि—in the course of the month. The other edict has *antamási* — at the end of the same month, which is most likely the right reading.

*Sanghatha sampatipádayitave*—corrected from *cha ghatha sampatipádayisave*, on the authority of the nineteenth line of the first edict. If *ghatha* be preferred it must be rendered by ग्रन्थ *grantha*, sacred volume?

#### Observations.

I have stated that the first and last tablets at *Dhault*, were totally distinct from the general series of ASOKA'S religious edicts. This is manifest as well from the mode of the address, as from the parties addressed. The expression *Devánampiyasa vachanena*, 'by command of DEVÁNAMPIYA'—seems to denote that the proclamation was issued by some functionary under the royal authority. The same peculiar opening occurs in the short supplementary inscription on the *Allahabad* pillar, but while that was addressed to the ministry in general (*Savata mahámátá vataviyá*—the ministers every where are to receive notice), both of the present are confined to the immediate residents in the district,—one being worded, *Tosaliam mahámátá nagala vihálaka vataviyam*—'the ministers or officers enjoying the city in (the province of) *Tosali*'—or it may be 'attached to the city *Vihára*—are to be informed;'—the other—*Tosaliam kumále mahámátá cha vataviyam*. In both these cases the gerund is in the neuter, but probably the inflections have been omitted in the copying.

It will be remarked that the simple word *mahámátá*, (Sans. *mahá-mátráh*) is used, not *dhammamahámátá\**, the great officers or ministers of religion:—the order therefore may be regarded as an injunction from the court to the head civil authorities of the place. Moreover in the first tablet, these officers alone are mentioned, whereas in the second tablet the word *Kumále*, (कुमारः) young prince, is joined with them, as though he had been in the former instance too young to be regarded, and his chief officers had been *nagala vihálaka*, as we should say, 'in charge of the town.'

ARRIAN in his *Indicæ* gives exactly this account of the routine of civil administration of the country in ALEXANDER'S time;—and one

\* The sense I proposed for *mahámátá* on first reading the pillar text, and repeated in November last, of 'sacred doctrine' has been necessarily set aside by the clear enunciation of the *Girnar* text.

passage in particular applies with such curious fidelity to the duties of the *pative dakas* or inquisitors whose report was to be made to the prince, or where there was none to the magistrates, as described in the sixth edict of *Girnar* and *Dhaulī* (page 268,) that I cannot forbear to extract it: the Greek word employed to designate what he calls the sixth class of the Indian community; *ἐπίσκοποι* is nearly a translation of प्रतिवेदक instructors or inspectors:—

Ἐκτοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καλεόμενοι. Οἷτοι ἐφορῶσι τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τε τὴν χώραν, καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολιὰς καὶ τὰυτὰ ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵνα περ βασιλεύονται Ἰνδοί· ἢ τοῖς τέλεσιν, ἵνα περ αὐτόνομοι εἰσὶ τοῦτοις οὐ θέμις ψεῦδος ἀγγεῖλαι οὐδέν· οὐδέ τις Ἰνδῶν αἰτίην ἔσχε ψεύσασθαι.—*Indice*, cap. XII.

‘The sixth class among the Indians are those called *Episcopi* (inspectors or inquisitors). These take cognizance of whatever happens both in the country and in the town, and report the same to the king in those places where the Indians are under regal rule; or to the *magistrates*, where they govern themselves\*. And to these (functionaries) it is not lawful to report any thing false, nor indeed have any of the Indians been ever taxed with the vice of falsehood.’

The last passage, as containing an impartial testimony to the character for honesty once borne by the natives of this country, deserves to be translated into the vernacular of every province, and hung up over the door of every judicial court in the present degenerate age!

To proceed in our analysis:—The province governed by this feudal prince and his ministers has long been erased from the catalogue of Indian states. *Tosaliyam* in the pillar-dialect of the Páli corresponds with the Sanskrit locative case, *तोषल्यां*, of *तोषली*, *Tosali*, a name only to be found written with the same orthography in *PTOLEMY*’s tables, as the city of *Tosale*. The Indian name of the same place, as identified by *WILFORD*, is *Tosala-Cosalaka* according to the *Brahmanda Purána*, and simply *Cosalaka* or *Cosala* in the *Varásanhita*. This is not the first occasion in which the Greek have proved better guides than the Sanskrit authorities, in regard to the actual geographical names preserved on our ancient buddhist monuments; though in describing their situation on the map great allowances must be occasionally made for the former; who, if, as we have now some reason to suppose, they derived their information from buddhist missionaries settled among them, would necessarily improve nothing of the very vague notion of relative positions and distances possessed by their informants. *Tosale metropolis*† is thus placed by *PTOLEMY* on the other side of the *Ganges*, somewhere near the mountains inhabited by the *nangologe* (most probably the *nágas*

\* Such a government was that of the *Litsavis* in *Pryága* or *Vishali*. See *CSOMA*’s analysis of the *Dulva*. Such also in a great sense was the capital of *Surashtra*.

† See *PTOLEMY*’s Geog. 11th plate, India extra Gangem.

or *nágaloka* of the eastern mountains). The *Puránas* merely place *Cosalaka* 'behind the Vindhya mountains\*'; but we are now able from the best of all possible authorities to restore its correct position; and it would seem even that part of the Sanskrit appellation has been preserved to this day in the name of the large artificial tank, around which Mr. KITTOE tells us the remains of an ancient city are still visible; for the tank is called the *Kounsla gung*, or *Kosala ganga*; though a very different account of the origin of its name is given by the present inhabitants. *Tusha* and *kushala*, it should be remarked, both signify pleasure, happiness, in Sanskrit.

The burthen of the proclamation seems to be contained in the sentence immediately following, and of this by our usual good fortune we have two copies to collate together; for, as far as the mutilated condition of the last tablet permits us to compare them, the two seem *literatim* the same:

1st. Am *kichhi áakhámi hannam, tam ichhámi kálinam .. na patipádayeham*;

2nd. Am *kichhi dakhámi ha .....*

1st. *duválatecha álabheham : esa cha me mokhyamate duvá.*

2nd. *duválate cha álabheham : esa cha me mokhya mate duvála.*

1st. .. *si .... si an tuphe, &c.*

2nd. *Etasi athasi an tuphe, &c.*

In translating this important passage I have been divided between two interpretations both equally sanctioned by the pandit;—first, यं कंचिद्विद्मामि हनं तं इहामि कारिणं एनं प्रतिपादयेहं द्विवारतश्च आरभेहं एष च मे मोक्षमतो द्विवारः ।

'Whomsoever I discover to be a murderer him do I desire to be imprisoned:—this do I publicly notify, and (if guilty) a second time I put him to death. And this (will be) a source of two-fold final beatitude to me.'

The principal objections to this reading are, first that *du* is never used in this dialect for *dwi* or *duvá* (which would be written *di*, or *duvá*), but for *duh* or *dur*, hard: and second that *moksha* is written *mokha* not *mokhya* as appears in both the instances before us. The second reading requires several changes of letters where they are however very clear on the stone, or at least in the copy made by Mr. KITTOE.

यत्किंचिदाख्यामि अहं तद्विद्मामि कारितं एनं प्रतिपादयेहं दुर्वारतश्च आरभेहं एष च मे मोक्षमतो दुर्वारः

"Whatsoever I say that I desire to be carried into effect,—this do I declare: and I execute it in spite of all opposition; and this my supreme will is irresistible."

\* See WILFORD'S Essay, Asiatic Researches, VIII, 337, 338.

The nearest approach to the original text will be found to lie between these two readings, taking the first half of the former and the last of the latter; this is the reading I have accordingly adopted in the translation, while I nevertheless think it incumbent on me to conceal no *variorum* interpretations which may help to a right understanding of a passage whereon so much depends.

In token of the inflexible nature of this monarch's orders, the proclamation then announces, that a certain *chaitya* or *tope* is to be called the 'commandment *tope*': *anusathi* or *anushāsti tuphe*. The word *tuphe*, 𑀅𑀲𑀭 is evidently the original of the modern expression 'tope:' in the regular *Pāli* of books it is written *thūpa*, which is again directly derived from the Sanskrit original 𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀭: *stūpah*, an artificial mound of earth, (or of building material?), hence doubtless applied (though the dictionaries do not give this meaning), to the pyramidal monuments of the Buddhists. *Am tuphe* I suppose to be a corruption of *ayam tuphe* 'this tope' in the nominative case.

The sentence next following seems an injunction or invitation to all loving subjects to flock thither and receive instruction from the holy men there located. A similar expression (*bahūsu pānasahasesu, &c.*) occurs on the western tablet of the FERAZ lāt inscription, but there, instead of a *chaitya*, the object of attraction is the *aswatha* or holy fig tree, if indeed the sense has been rightly apprehended; but from the occurrence of words similar to *aswatha* in the present edicts,—*aswāsevu, swasanam, swasatam*, I am inclined to deduce them all from the root 𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀭, breathe,—thus *aswatha abhitā* (around the holy fig tree) will become *āswasitā abhitā* for 𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀭: 'breathing fearless' or 'living in security.' The initial *a* in this case should however be long, whereas the facsimiles just received from Captain BURT, prove it to be short, so far confirming the original reading; but on the other hand Mr. TUNNOUR, our best authority, gives the latter sense,—*aswatha abhitā kam-māni pawatayevun*, 'should follow a line of conduct tending to allay alarm.'

Having adverted rather out of place, to the term *swasatam* I may further observe that the title of *Mahāmātā-aswasatam-nāma* is apparently given to one of the *chaityas*, or perhaps to the platform of the elephant situated just above the inscription, and that it means the 'place of breathing, or of quiet repose for the priests.' This name we may conclude to be preserved in the modern appellation of the rock 'the *aswastama*,' for which indeed it would be difficult to find a better derivation. The Hindus of the place declare it to be name of the stone

elephant called after one in the Mahábhárata,—while my own pandit supposed it a corruption of *aswastambha*, the horse-pillar.

Another local name of the inscription can be traced in an equally satisfactory manner; the present village of *Dhaulí* being evidently named after the *Dubaláhi tupha* mentioned in the last edict,—the ‘shrine of the feeble’ from दुबल, in modern Hindí *dúblá*. This establishment was probably a kind of hospital, and if Mr. KITTOE’s conjectures as to the small rock mortars be correct, it must have been amply provided with medicamentary concoctions!

The name of the *Kalantam tuphe* (if this be indeed its name), has not been equally fortunate in its preservation, and nothing can be discovered like it in the neighbourhood. I imagined that it might be read the *Kalinga tupha*, but on re-examination of the rock the word was found to be correctly written in the transcript. It may be read *karaṇḍa tuphe*, the beehive tope; but, as *kálántam*, it has a more plausible interpretation,—the end of time!

The mutilated state of many passages in the inscription as usual prevents my stringing the whole together in a connected shape; but from the parts extant I should be inclined to regard these two proclamations as intended chiefly to provide for the reading and due observance of the principal string of commandments, which occupy the central space on the stone; as well as to record the foundation of the several monasteries of ascetics mentioned above.

In both of them is an express regulation as to the time of the year when the edicts are to be read aloud—not exactly when two or three are gathered together—but literally ‘when even only one be present!’ The seasons appointed are nearly half-yearly—one in *Bhádra* (if *Bhátun* may be so interpreted) (August) and the other in *Phálguna* the *antamási*, or last month according to the Buddhists (February—March) or near the vernal equinox. By the expression *Tisena nakhatena* in the instrumental case—‘with the *Tisa* lunar mansion,’—is to be understood, when also the moon is in the mansion of *Tisya* or *Pushya*, the eighth *nakshatra* counting from *Aswini*. Now as the moon is full in the mansion whence the month is named, the *Tisya tithi* will fall about the 24th of *Phalgun*, and about the 12th of *Bhádra*. The veneration in which the mansions of *Punarvasune* and *Pushya* were held by the Buddhists was alluded to in my observations on the south pillar edict at *Delhi*, (Vol. VI. page 575).’

Besides the order for reading ASOKA’s homily on specified days, particular allusion is made to the five-yearly festival or fast, which is also provided for in the third of the *Girnár* edicts (see page 264). In re-